LITTLE BLUE BOOK NO. 286
Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

Prostitution in the Ancient World

Leo Markun

LITTLE BLUE BOOK NO. 286
Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

Prostitution in the Ancient World

Leo Markun

HALDEMAN-JULIUS COMPANY
GIRARD, KANSAS

Copyright, 1925,
Haldeman-Julius Company

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PROSTITUTION IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

CONTENTS

PAGE

Prostitution Among the Primitive Races..... 7
Prostitution Among the Greeks.....17
Prostitution in Rome 44
Homosexual Prostitution in the Ancient World 60

PROSTITUTION IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

The problems of sex are ever with us. The more complex our civilization becomes, the more difficult are certain sexual questions. Especially as the years of education and apprenticeship in the art of earning a living tend to grow longer, and to reach out far beyond the age of puberty, marriage ceases for many to be in any sense an answer to the sexual problems. Thus, even if man were essentially a monogamous animal, the occasion for prostitution would still arise.

It is instructive as to the nature of present conditions to see what the situation has been in the past. Probably it is best to begin with a definition of prostitution. It is the "common lewdness of a woman, especially for hire," according to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary. "Lewdness" of course implies moral condemnation. If we wish to be scientifically accurate, we must try to leave out such terms as in themselves pass a judgment. Although the courtesan is now held in common contempt, and this has usually been so in the past, yet there are cases in which prostitution becomes a religious duty.

There have been various efforts by legislators and others to define prostitution. It is not merely illicit sexual intercourse. The concubine is not a prostitute; neither is the adulterous wife who has a single lover.

Dr. Iwan Bloch's somewhat complex defini-

tion amounts to this, that the prostitute is a person, male or female, who sells himself or herself for sexual purposes to a great number of persons, and with little or no choice among them. "Seldom without payment," he says, but I think the payment is a necessary characteristic. A wealthy woman who became a prostitute would ask for pay, because this is almost part of the sexual act. This is brought out very well by Schnitzler in his novelette, "Casanova's Homecoming."

Bloch's definition varies in at least one important matter from that of most of his predecessors. Very seldom has the term been made to include males. However, there now exist and there have existed from time immemorial two classes of men who have permitted the sexual use of their bodies for hire. These are homosexuals and the men who for one reason or another are paid by women to have sexual relations with them. There are reasons why these men should be considered in any serious study of prostitution.

Especially because sexual relations between men did not appear vicious and immoral, but natural and even beautiful, to the ancient Greeks and to other antique races, this question of definition becomes of some importance in an exposition of prostitution as it existed in the ancient world. For practical purposes I will accept Iwan Bloch's definition, although I am not entirely convinced as to the scientific validity of thus grouping males and females together.

As Bloch himself says, all prostitutes tend to approach a certain type. The two sorts of

male professional exploiters of sex differ widely from each other; and neither sort, except in certain minor matters, tends to approach the type of the female prostitute. However, as we have no accepted terms for these men, we must continue to call them prostitutes.

PROSTITUTION AMONG THE PRIMITIVE RACES

Among scientific investigators of sexual problems, there is a sharp split over the question whether prostitution and other departures from normal and approved marital relations are forms of degeneracy or reversions to the primitive type. In other words, was primitive man promiscuous? Did he practice perversions, or only normal coition? Is morality stricter among savage or among civilized races?

Let us consider our brothers in the animal world. Most mammals, if they enter into "marriages" at all, do not keep them up long. They do not tend to remain faithful to a single mate. As we know, the males of many species have no interest in their off-spring. In some cases they show a hostility to their young, going so far as to eat them when they are not driven off by the female.

Among the anthropoid apes, says Dr. August Forel, there exists genuine monogamous marriage, accompanied by family life. The male protects his mate and the young ones.

According to Westermarck, this is also true of primitive man. Everywhere, he says, there is the unit built around parents and children.

However, most anthropologists, disagreeing with him, say that sexual promiscuity prevails in savage society.

The facts are pretty well established, and the difference is chiefly one of definition. In order to say that marriage is the rule with early man, Westermarck makes that institution include polygyny (or the state of having a plurality of wives), polyandry (or the state of having at the same time several husbands), and monogamous marital relations of only temporary duration.

Of polygamy in the broader sense (including both polygyny and polyandry) we may say that it undoubtedly is marriage, but yet something very different from our typical, monogamous sort. When the question is one of temporary marriage, we may well ask just how short the relations may last and still come within the category. Even the very liberal government of the Soviets has found it necessary to set a limit to the number of times any individual might be divorced and remarried in any one year. A marriage which lasts ten years is clearly something very different from sexual promiscuity. Can there be a marriage for a month, or a week, or a single night?

Primitive man knows nothing of that refinement of civilization, the divorce court. On occasions he enters into marirage quite unceremoniously. However, if he stays with the same woman for a number of years, guarding their home and their offspring, undoubtedly he is as much married as though he had previously had to do with licenses, banns, ministers' fees, and the throwing of old shoes.

Perhaps we may make this distinction: if the male remains faithful to the female after she has borne him a child, takes care of it, and remains to beget other progeny on the same woman, we may consider him married. If he deserts her before the child is born, or at this time, he is but a lusty bachelor.

It is extremely probable that marriage sprang up early in the life of primitive man. So long as the sexual impulse remained confined to the rutting period, or special time of desire, there was little incitive to married life. For some reason or reasons not perfectly clear to us now, the love life of prehistoric man gradually became perennial instead of periodic. Virey's suggestion is that the sexual life expanded when men came into possession of more food than was sufficient barely to support life. In the same way, he says, our domesticated animals become perennial lovers when we take care of their alimentary needs.

A more constant libido and a developed brain, these two things brought about the institution of marriage. It occurs to me that the increased influence of the female, as the warlike prowess of the male comes to be less significant, may have something to do with the development of marriage. The marriage relation surely works out to the advantage of the female sex more than to that of the male.

When the rut came, in the early days of man, it came at once to the whole tribe. All the males battled with one another for the desirable females. When the next rut took place, the fight began all over again. Under such

conditions, of course there could be no real marriage.

Probably, then, prostitution is to be regarded as a relic or as a symbolical reminiscence of ancient promiscuity. It is a dark shadow out of the past falling now upon family life, as Lewis H. Morgan says.

The family arose when love had lost something of its periodic limits, and when man developed such occupations as required the co-operative labors of a group. To the farmer, his wife is still an economic asset. The number *one* was not universally held in mystical reverence; therefore these marriages were not necessarily entered into between a single man and a single woman. One man might be married to a number of women, or one woman to a number of men, or a group of men might have several wives in common.

Morality generally arises out of certain considerations of safety and convenience. Among some African tribes it is highly moral to kill most female children shortly after birth. This is because they would for some years be impediments in battle and in the search for new hunting grounds. Naturally no monogamous marriage is possible under such a condition as this. Either promiscuity or polyandry must prevail.

Among some of the tribes practicing polyandry, it is customary for a number of brothers to have one wife. The first child she bears is attributed to the oldest brother, the next to the second, and so on. In general, the child of a polyandrous marriage inherits the property

of its mother, and concerns itself little with its father.

All sorts of sexual customs have been found among primitive races. In some sections of the world it is good form to lend your wife for a night or two to the friend or even to the stranger who is visiting you. Among some tribes, promiscuity prevails until marriage. In some places the lord or chief has the right to spend the first night with every newly-married woman in his dominions. Up to the French Revolution, certain feudal lords in Europe received taxes or dues which were substitutes for this "right of the first night." Many of these customs and conditions appear to contradict Westermarck's opinion that the earliest primitive men were essentially monogamous.

Did prostitution exist in primitive society? Certainly not if promiscuity prevailed. Prostitution is a by-product of marriage. Whenever normal woman had sexual relations with a large number of men, there could not exist such a thing as a prostitute class.

However, among such savages as observe the marriage tie, prostitution exists, and in many cases there are even brothels. Where the bachelors of a tribe live together in a communal hall, as is the case in some parts of the world, this house is often provided with one or two women. Widows, abandoned wives, and slaves captured in war most commonly make up the prostitutes among savages. Ploss-Bartels cites some cases, though, in Africa and elsewhere, of women who are given up to prostitution by their husbands.

Herodotus says of certain Thracian tribes:

"They sell their children to traders. On their maidens they keep no watch, but leave them altogether free; while on the conduct of their wives they keep a most strict watch. Brides are purchased of their parents for large sums of money."

In other words, the husbands, having paid well for their women, kept them strictly for themselves. They did not, however, inquire too closely as to what had previously taken place.

When Herodotus visited Lydia, he found that the magnificent tomb of King Alyattes had been erected at the expense of the various tradesmen and professional men of Sardis. It "had at the top five stone pillars which remained to my day" (the Fifth Century before the Christian era) "with inscriptions cut on them showing how much of the work was done by each class of workpeople. It appeared on measurement that the portion of the courtesans was the largest. The daughters of the common people in Lydia, one and all, pursue this traffic, wishing to secure money for their dowries. They continue the practice until they marry; and are accustomed to make the wedding contracts themselves."

What Herodotus says in another place is illuminating as to the growth of the feeling that the sexual relation is somehow unclean: "The Egyptians first made it a point of honor to have no converse with women in the sacred places, and not to enter them without washing, after such converse. Almost all nations except the Greeks and the Egyptians act differently, regarding man as in this matter under

no other law than the brutes. Many animals, they say, and various kinds of birds, may be seen to couple in the temples and sacred precincts, which would certainly not happen if the gods were displeased at it."

Not only in the manner of birds and animals have men and women cohabited in the temples, that is, without paying any attention to the supposed sacredness of the place, but also with the idea that the sexual act was one of religious devotion.

The intimate connection between religion and the sexual libido is of course not a matter of primitive society alone. Every once in a while our sensational Sunday magazines tell of some "prophet" who has organized a group of women into a society for worshipping according to new and strange rites. Polygamy was an important item among the dogmas of Mormonism. To violate the seraglio is a religious desecration among the followers of Mohammed. How important a rôle celibacy has played and still plays in Christianity! The nun who enters a convent and assumes the final vows is said to "marry Christ." This same connection between sex and religion is shown in the importance of the rite of circumcision among the Jews.

To quote again from Herodotus: "The Babylonians have one most shameful custom. Every woman born in the country must once in her life go and sit down in the precinct of Aphrodite, and there consort with a stranger. Many of the wealthier sorts, who are too proud to mix with the others, drive in covered carriages to the precinct, followed by a goodly

train of attendants, and there take their station. But the larger number seat themselves within the holy enclosure with wreaths of string about their heads; and here is always a great crowd, some coming and others going; lines of cords mark out paths in all directions among the women, and the strangers pass along them to make their choice. A woman who has once taken her seat is not allowed to return home till one of the strangers throws a silver coin into her lap, and takes her with him beyond the holy ground. When he throws the coin he says these words, 'The goddess Mylitta prosper thee.' (Aphrodite is called Mylitta by the Assyrians.) The silver coin may be of any size; it cannot be refused, for that is forbidden by the law, since once thrown it is sacred. The woman goes with the first man who throws her money, and rejects no one. When she has gone with him, and so satisfied the goddess, she returns home, and from that time forth no gift, however great, will prevail with her. Such of the women as are tall and beautiful are soon released, but others who are ugly have to stay a long time before they can fulfil the law. Some have waited three or four years in the precinct. A custom very much like this is found also in certain parts of the Island of Cyprus."

Similar customs have existed in many different places. Among some of the inhabitants of Asia (in India, for example) it is a religious duty for a maiden to go to a priest for her defloration. In my edition for this series of the "Kama Sutra," which is a Hindu manual of love, I have pointed out how sexology is con-

sidered a part of religion, or at least very closely mingled with it.

The Nautches of India are prostitutes connected with a temple of religion. Until recently three Nautches and other courtesans formed about the only educated class among the women of India. The religious prostitutes of India have always been famous for their erotic dances.

Of all the gods of antiquity, very few were ascetic. Many religious holidays were celebrated with sexual orgies. Dionysus and his Roman counterpart, Bacchus, may be named as gods especially favorable to libidinous lust. They were primarily the gods of wine; but Priapus, whom Dinoysus begot on Aphrodite, goddess of love, was the Greek phallic god, the deity of fruitfulness and the generative power.

Because the phenomena of sex appear shameful or even sinful to us, we find it hard to appreciate how the ancients felt about these things. Why does not sex appear to us as natural and as open a thing as eating and drinking? The social psychologists are not unanimous in their answers to this question. Probably it is because primitive man, being constantly exposed to attacks from wild beasts and from his fellow-men, found it best to withdraw during the act of coition into a secluded place. Then the very fact that the sexual act was performed privately came to identify it with shameful things. The ascetic teachings of Christianity, themselves largely arising from the primitive sense of modesty and shame, have also contributed to our conception of sex as a dirty and sinful thing.

It is very difficult for us to understand the point of view of the tribes among which promiscuity is prescribed as a religious duty. We have our own peculiar superstitions, but we do not agree with the inhabitants of Java and New Guinea who hold that performing the sexual act in a field is absolutely necessary if the soil is to be fertile during the following year. We do not assign the first night of a woman's married life to a priest or a king, or yet to a stone or metal phallus, but we do make her defloration by her husband almost a religious rite.

The non-Hebraic races of Palestine were addicted to sexual orgies in the name of religion, as many passages in the Bible make clear. At times numbers of Jewish maidens went over to the worship of the nature divinities. Many of the outbursts of Jeremiah and the other prophets were directed against this practice.

Although, as we have seen, Herodotus felt that sexual relations were unclean, yet in many parts of Greece there were organizations of holy prostitutes. Flora, the Roman goddess of flowers and spring, was according to legend originally a prostitute. Her annual festival, the Floralia, which was celebrated for a week at the end of April and the beginning of May, was a time of great merriment and voluptuousness. We are told that during this holiday the Roman prostitutes used publicly to remove their clothing and to execute lively and lascivious dances.

There have been various theories as to how religious prostitution arose. Perhaps it was in some way a substitution for a state of unbridled

sexual freedom. However, the fact that generation and birth are the great mysteries of life is no doubt sufficient explanation.

PROSTITUTION AMONG THE GREEKS

We may date the beginning of organized prostitution in Europe, religious prostitution aside, in the time of the great Athenian legislator Solon. He was a great reformer, and his object in establishing brothels was to reduce promiscuity, not to increase it.

The laws of Solon permitted a man to kill anybody he found cohabiting with his wife. The rape of an unmarried woman, however, was punished by a fine, and the seduction of any unmarried woman except a harlot, by a lesser fine. The fine for a rape amounted to about the value of a hundred sheep, and for that of a seduction, to about the value of twenty sheep. Solon forbade men to sell their sisters and daughters except in cases of unchastity.

His laws regulated many rather intimate matters. One of them provided that an heiress whose husband proved impotent might choose one of his relatives to provide her with an heir to her estate. The husband of an heiress had to cohabit with her at least three times a month.

Some of Solon's other laws might be more acceptable to husbands of today. A woman was not allowed to travel with more than three dresses, for instance. She was not to travel at night except in a wagon with a light

carried before it. When a man put certain provisions into his will because of his wife's solicitations, these were held invalid.

Dr. Iwan Bloch, whose large work on prostitution has for its object the demonstration that it is an unnecessary evil, calls Solon the first fallacious defender of governmental regulation. His fallacy, according to the views of men who favor the abolition of the brothel, consists in his opinion that legalized prostitution preserves the sanctity of the home and preserves the chastity of citizens' wives and daughters. This is of course the idea which lies behind every defense of the "red light district" by respectable and law-abiding men and women.

The paternalism of the state was carried much further by the ancient Greeks than it is with us. That is perfectly clear to any careful reader of Plato's "Republic" or of Aristotle's ethical and political works. There was nothing radically new about Solon's prescriptions of how certain matters within the family should be carried out.

Solon was by no means a feminist. He accepted without question the double standard of sexual morality. His whole system bound the wife to her husband, but permitted him full freedom of intercourse so long as he interfered with no other citizen's wife or daughter.

The prostitute class under Solon's system was not recruited from volunteers. It was made up of slaves, most of whom were foreigners. The prostitutes were maintained in brothels by the state. According to Nikander,

Solon gave the profits derived from the brothels to the priests of the temple of Aphrodite Pandemus. Probably he felt that prostitution was in some way still a religious matter.

However, he did not feel that this religion made the harlots themselves sacred. They were miserable prisoners of war who stood naked before the brothels to entice the passers-by. They were not permitted to choose, but had to find acceptable any male who presented the extremely low fee set by law.

Probably all women were held in little esteem at this time. Wives had one duty to perform, the bearing of legitimate children and heirs. Yet, as we have seen, Solon safeguarded the rights of such married women as had property of their own. Plutarch, however, when he came to report these provisions of Solon's laws, found them very strange. In general, the married woman was expected to remain at home and take care of the household and her children. She married early and she was seldom educated even in the arts necessary to a good housewife. She never dreamed of discussing literature or philosophy or politics with her husband.

The respectable wife of classical Greek times had probably less education than that of the average dweller in a Turkish seraglio. She was aloof from the world, too.[6] She had not seen much of her husband before marriage. Love was not considered necessary between the bride and the groom.

Women were not admitted to the theatre, to the Olympic games, or to other public and semi-public gatherings. This prohibition was

customarily removed only in the case of prostitutes. The female sex was considered decidedly inferior to the male. In Homeric times women had been comparatively well off, although they were subject to violent abduction, marriage or concubinage by capture, and to all the vicissitudes which befall the female sex in unsettled periods. The beauty of a Helen might launch a thousand ships, and her lesser and perhaps luckier sisters were their husbands' advisers and honored comforters.

Neither in preclassical or heroic Greece nor in classical times was it considered a light matter to have sexual intercourse with the wife or the unmarried female relative of another. The aggrieved person was usually permitted to take any revenge he could, not excluding death. The state, too, often set up various penalties designed to check adultery and fornication with women of the free class.

These dishonorable penalties turned men away from the chaste women and sent them to the slaves in the public brothels. There was no feeling of shame about relations with the public women. They were provided by the civic zeal of great statesmen. Furthermore, there was less to fear in visiting a prostitute than there is to-day. So long as the harlots were all slaves maintained by the state, there was little danger that they might be in league with thieves for the despoilment of their patrons. Of especial importance is the fact that there existed practically no fear of the venereal diseases.

Syphilis does not seem to have occurred in

Europe until after Columbus discovered America. It was pretty surely brought to Spain from Hayti at that time.

Gonorrhea and chancroids appear to have existed in classical Europe, but yet the nature of the diseases, and especially the manner of their transmission, appear hardly to have been understood. It happens that gonorrhea is in some ways a more dangerous disease than even syphilis; but ignorance was bliss, and the fear of infection was something that ordinarily did not occur.

Prostitution was a means by which the despised slave class served to protect the chastity of free men's wives. Slavery was a very important factor in the social and economic life of antiquity. An Athenian census of the Fourth Century before Christ gave the following figures for the population of the city: free citizens, 21,000; resident foreigners, 10,000; slaves, 400,000. Under such conditions there was naturally a tremendous social gulf between the slaves and their masters. Later, in Rome, emancipation became common, but in Greece the freeing of slaves was quite rare.

We can understand, then, that few free women entered the ranks of the prostitutes. It was possible, however, for a citizen's daughter to be captured by pirates or taken prisoner in a war. She might even be sold into slavery by her father. In this way and from the children of slaves the brothels were filled.

It was considered a sign of weakness among the old Greeks to fall in love with any woman. The prostitute existed for man's pleasure, the concubine to take care of his needs and his

home, the wife to bear him legitimate children. The elder Cato called the wife a necessary evil, and this was also the Greek view.

Love was a disease, a mild form of madness. "Not in Homer nor in Hesiod nor in Aeschylus is there a love scene," says Dr. Bloch. Yet, when in the sixth book of the "Iliad," Hector bids farewell to his wife Andromache, surely genuine love is shown on both sides. In general, the position of woman in Homeric times was higher than it afterwards became.

Romantic love had existed in early Greece. We have but to name Sappho to make that plain. When we name her, though, in this connection, we are immediately reminded that this love might be homosexual. Of that anon.

In the "Antigone" of Sophocles, Creon calls his son Haemon "foul spotted heart—a woman's follower" when the young man pleads for the life of his beloved. Haemon, however, perhaps having a touch of madness in him, slays himself at Antigone's side.

If we wish to understand why romantic love in general was of little importance to the Greeks, we must first of all remember that sex was open, unconcealed, unashamed. We are so very far from their point of view that even a novelist who talks much about the importance of phallic worship (Mr. D. H. Lawrence) becomes indignant about having to remove his clothing for a physician's examination. To the Greeks nakedness was no sin. The athletes at the Olympic games did not wear shirts and drawers. Statues and paintings in the nude stood everywhere, and no one smirked at the sight. This very openness no doubt hindered

the spiritualization of love. Love was a religious thing, but so were eating and drinking. They still are, in the Holy Communion—and many Christians still consider marriage a sacrament.

To individualize love was against the whole philosophical trend of classical Greece. The tendency was to look toward the perfection of the state, without regard to the improvement of any unit except as it contributed to the development of the whole. Any reader of the "Republic" should immediately perceive this fact. Plato's ideal state, in which perfect justice was to prevail, was to be ruled by the philosophers without regard to their own happiness. They would at once abolish the family and establish the community of wives and children.

"Our object in the construction of our state," according to Plato's Socrates, "is not to make any one class preëminently happy, but to make the whole state as happy as it can be." All that matters, according to this view, is divine symmetry. It is not utilitarianism (which seeks the greatest good of the greatest number) any more than it is individualism.

According to most Greek thinkers, organized prostitution performed a service for the state. It was not an instrument of licentiousness, but a means of satisfying the natural wants of men.

"In the temperate man," says Aristotle, "the concupiscent element ought to live in harmony with reason, since nobleness is the object of them both, and the temperate man desires what

is right, and desires it in the right way and at the right time, that is, according to the law of reason."

The idea that life should be a glorious orgy was accepted neither by the Greek philosophers nor the Greek populace. Aristotle's Golden Middle was the expression of a common ideal. Excess (or *hybris*) was the one great sin in the old Hellenic world. It was supposed to tempt the gods to send sorrow to the offending individual.

However, the Greek conception of moderation as applied to sexual matters was very far from Christian asceticism. There was no feeling, in antique and heathen times, that flesh was inherently sinful. Among some of the barbarian neighbors of the Greeks, this idea was evidently coming in. The Lydians, for instance, thought it shameful to strip off their clothing in order to participate in athletic games.

As we know, the Greeks erected statues in honor of their beautiful men and women. We are rather contemptuous of male beauty today. If we wish to be polite, we say "handsome," not "beautiful," of a man. Perhaps this is partly due to our different way of looking at homosexuality.

If we must worship something, it might as well be Beauty as any other idol we can set up. Certainly beauty is not an attribute of the female alone. Schopenhauer, in a well-known passage, argues that the female form is less comely than that of the male.

We moderns are obsessed, more or less con-

sciously, by the idea that the object of the sexual act is the reproduction of the race. This idea, taught by some religions, has taken a firm hold on the unconscious mind of almost all of us. Even though we generally practice birth control, we have a violent prejudice against such forms of sexual intercourse as can not lead to generation.

Our most enlightened men tend to regard the practice of these as symptoms of mental illness or moral decay. The Greeks, however, regarded all forms of sexual enjoyment, even those which appear to us corrupt and perverse, as perfectly natural.

Dr. Bloch points out that satyriasis and nymphomania, that is to say, supernormal sexual feeling and desire in the male and the female, are represented in the Greek medical books as common diseases. This he attributes, at least in part, to the warm climate of the Hellenic peninsula. However, I think that sexual hyperesthesia was little if at all commoner among the Greeks than it is with us. The absence of prudery made people discuss the thing more freely, that is all. Our very physicians are ready to join in the work of draping statues with skirts and trousers. A woman Doctor of Medicine recently wrote to the editor of one of our staidest and most solid old monthlies, complaining that the fiction dealt with sexual problems which she found sufficiently discussed in her medical journals. What the Greek physicians called by their proper names, our own doctors label "hysteria" or "neurasthenia."

In antique times, prostitution was not con-

fined to the large cities. Brothels were to be found in little villages. The inhabitant of a small town did not find it necessary to employ the fiction of a business trip in order that he might lose his identity among the unknown crowds of Athens or Corinth. If he wished to enter the local brothel, he would not lose his reputation as an honorable citizen because he fulfilled his natural desires.

Nevertheless prostitutes were especially active among foreigners and other strangers, in the sea-ports, centers of trade, and religious centers. They followed the armies on their expeditions. They flocked to the universities. They were numerous at religious festivals, at pilgrimages, at fairs, at all places where men gathered in great numbers.

Some of the religious celebrations were especially dedicated to the prostitutes, as we have seen in the case of the Floralia at Rome. There were many such holidays in Greece as well, among which perhaps the most famous was the celebration of the harlots at Corinth in honor of laughter-lovirg Aphrodite.

Although most of the Greek courtesans were slaves, yet there were gradations among them. From the hetæræ, many of whom were really concubines living for a period with one man, and therefore really not prostitutes at all, down to the lowest wenches, there were all sorts of subdivisions.

Many of the slaves had been maidens or young wives of a good family, and had suddenly found themselves prostitutes after a pirate's surprise attack or the defeat of their

city or tribe in war. Perhaps they had already been trained in music and the dance. Else, if they were attractive and apparently capable of being taught, they might have lessons in the brothel.

A woman who could dance and sing or play a musical instrument was worth much more in the slave market than one who was merely a female animal of the human species. Although most of the Greeks didn't want their wives to be educated, they attached a special value to courtesans who could talk of learned things.

The prostitutes who stood at the entrance to the brothels were of the lowest and least valuable class. In a time when the sense of modesty was quite different from ours, it was possible for the prostitutes not only to entice men on the streets and in other public places, but also to go through the sexual acts in the more secluded streets and corners.

Among the higher types of the courtesan, we may name those capable of playing skilfully upon the various musical instruments then in use. These, to ther with singers, dancers, reciters, and readers, were much in demand at banquets. The formal feast among the Greeks was always a "stag party." Such women as were there came to entertain and amuse and give pleasure. Wives were invariably left at home.

The dances of the slave-women were chiefly of an openly erotic nature. Almost all dancing, ancient or modern, is more or less indicative or symbolical of the act of coition. In times when nakedness was no sin, this was plain

enough. Today the dance hall is still often a brothel, or the recruiting-ground for the brothel.

With the dance was associated then, as now, certain forms of theatrical representations. Vestiges still remain of the belief that the theatre is no place for an honorable woman. Among the Greeks, a woman who appeared on the stage was thereby clearly identified as a harlot.

In the regular comedy and tragedy of classical times, as in the early English theatre, men took all parts, representing alike male and female. There was no attempt at realism. The Attic theatre was romantic, idealized. The actors wore masks to make themselves appear divine or heroic, and they wore shoes that were designed to add to their apparent height.

The one form of the drama in which women took part was the mime, a sort of realistic burlesque or travesty. Imagine the burlesque show of today (or its aristocratic sister, the revue) removed from all fear of police interference and from all need to cater to the "high class family trade," and you have a fairly accurate conception of what the ancient Greek mimes were like. Openly lascivious dances were the rule. Of course the women who, naked or dressed in the half-concealment that is still more provocative, went through these symbolical gyrations, were ready to cap the climax after the performance.

The mime and the ancient equivalent of our cabaret merged into each other. The music and the dances of the mime tended to be more important than the words. This although some

talented poets were among the writers of the mimes. In Byzantine days, the theatre which presented mimes came to be identified even in name with the brothel.

Perhaps this identification of the ancient burlesque theatre with sexual things is part of the reason why Puritans tend to frown altogether upon the theatre. The tradition lingers, and even now the Methodist Church is gradually being won over to the view that the theatre is not necessarily and inherently vicious.

All forms of pleasure tend to be thought of and engaged in together. Although an excess of alcohol makes impotent, a moderate quantity, especially when taken with a generous meal, stimulates sexual desire. With the subtler sides of sex, flowers and delicate shades of perfume are associated. The serving-women and the young women who sold fruits and flowers in the market-places of old Greece were mostly courtesans.

Our word *bagnio*, which etymologically signifies a bath, means nothing more to us now than a brothel. The connection between public bathing and prostitution thus indicated has especially been developed in the Orient. However, we find traces of it in European antiquity, although it became much more significant in Europe in the later Middle Ages and in the Renaissance. The massagist or other bath attendant was often expected to perform sexual acts. The public baths were especially important for homosexual prostitution.

The brothels of Athens and other Greek

cities tended to be grouped around the baths. They were also located in the neighborhood of the other places of amusement and recreation. "Other places," I say, because the bath was considered much more than merely a place to remove dirt from one's body. It ranked with the theatres, the circus, and other resorts which supplied entertainment. Around these and around the temples were established the principal houses of prostitution. The cheaper brothels were often located in the outskirts and suburbs of large cities.

In Shakespeare's day, somewhat similarly, the theatres, the bear-baiting pits, and the brothels formed a group on the Bankside, near Southwark, outside the limits of London.

The brothel in Greece was not only open and unashamed. It was in the nature of a public building and usually, during the classical period, was owned and operated by the state. In any case, it was strictly regulated by public officials.

Some of the brothels served also as hotels, and in most of them food and drink were offered for sale. Outside these brothels, many of the prostitutes of a higher type occupied small apartments or furnished rooms of their own.

The better-class courtesans were called hetæræ. The chief characteristic of this class was that the members became remarkably individualized. A hetæræ might become famous in the whole antique world, not only for beauty, but also for wit and culture.

Herodotus tells how Rhodopis, a famous

courtesan, was redeemed from slavery by Charaxus, the brother of the poetess Sappho, but continued to pursue her trade in Egypt. It was said that she became immensely wealthy, and rumor had it that one of the pyramids was built at her expense.

Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, relates the common report that he plunged Athens into war with the Samians in order to please the hetæra Aspasia. "She is said to have reserved her favors for the most powerful personages of Greece, in imitation of Thargelia, an Ionian lady of ancient times, of great beauty, ability, and attractions, who had many lovers among the Greeks, and brought them all over to the Persian interest, by which means the seeds of the Persian faction were sown in many cities of Greece, as they were all men of great influence and position.

"Now, some writers say that Pericles valued Aspasia only for her wisdom and political ability. Indeed Socrates and his friends used to frequent her society; and those who listened to her discourse used to bring their wives with them, that they too might profit by it, although her profession was far from being honorable or decent, for she kept courtesans in her house. . . . . But Pericles seems to have been enamored more of Aspasia's person than of her intellect." Plutarch goes on to tell how Pericles sent his wife away and lived with Aspasia, "of whom he was passionately fond. He is said never to have gone in or out of the house during the day without kissing her."

Plutarch lived five centuries later than

Aspasia, aud he reports hearsay and legend. We can be pretty sure that no wives were brought to Aspasia to learn wisdom from her.

In the first volume of his work on prostitution, Iwan Bloch devotes a number of pages to a list of the famous courtesans and concubines of antiquity. There is Archippe, to whom the dramatist Sophocles left his fortune. There are the two famous courtesans named Lais. There is Leontion, beloved of Epicurus and his disciples, herself a writer and philosopher. There is Phryne, well known through all Greece for her beauty, whose golden statue stood in Delphi. There is Thais of Athens, who became the mistress of Alexander the Great and then sat on the throne with Ptolemæus I of Egypt. The mother of this first Ptolemy, incidentally, had been the mistress of Alexander's father, Philip of Macedon.

Apelles, the most celebrated of Greek painters (contemporary with Alexander the Great, that is, of the Fourth Century before the Christian era) did not disdain to paint courtesans. For his most admired picture, "Venus Rising Out of the Sea", Phryne served as model, plunging naked into the sea on the occasion of a feast to the sea-god Poseidon. She is also said to have served as model to Praxiteles for the famous Cnidian Aphrodite.

The sense of shame developed rather late in Greece. The Greek vases of the Fifth Century before Christ, many of which portray brothel scenes, were considered respectable enough to be placed in an honorable citizen's home.

However, we find Aristotle in his "Politics" seeking the prohibition of the display of lascivious pictures. These were to be found not only in brothels but also in the private houses of the wealthy. No doubt Aristotle felt that these pictures would encourage sexual excess, drawing men away from the Golden Middle.

The opinion was advanced, even among the Greeks, that to refrain from sexual intercourse was pleasing to the gods and philosophically desirable. The physicians argued about the value of coition to the men and women who participated in it. There were some who felt that it was more healthful for the individual to refrain from it. Thus, although the ancient world generally left the sexual life free and untrammeled, there were all sorts of tendencies in the opposite direction.

The Greeks were a temperate people. They mixed their wine with water and ate sparingly of simple foods. There were, however, gluttonous individuals and topers; and there were times and places where rich voluptuousness prevailed.

Were the prostitutes of ancient Hellas like their modern successors, so far as personal characteristics are concerned? Dr. Bloch believes that the old Greek and Roman courtesans were like the typical modern prostitute, as Lombroso has described her. Among the attributes of the courtesans of all times and places are said to be piety, superstition, deceitfulness, jealousy, and shamelessness. Except perhaps for the last, a cynical philosopher might suggest that these traits apply to all women.

What Bloch has forgotten, I think, in applying these universal attributes of the prostitute to the harlots of antiquity, is the fact that most of the women went into the brothels absolutely against their own will. Once in the brothel, they learned the tricks of the profession and conformed somewhat to the prostitute type. However, under other circumstances they might have lived happily in monogamous marriage. Lombroso's theory, which Bloch, to be sure, does not fully accept, is that the modern prostitute is such because of her inborn nature rather than because of the circumstances to which she is exposed.

Many of the minor details descriptive of the Greek courtesan apply also to the harlot of present-day Europe and America. The prostitutes of Greece and Rome put rouge upon their faces, and occasionally the respectable women followed them in this practice. Courtesans walked then as they walk now, with a lascivious twisting of the hips. Clothing was simpler among the Greeks than it is with us. Yet the hetæræ found occasion to introduce new fashions.

The cosmetic art was evidently developed to quite as great a degree as it is with us. The art of making old or ugly prostitutes look like their more fortunate sisters was very closely studied. Our surgeons, to be sure, in taking up methods of beautification, are likely to leave Greek methods far behind. The old Hellenes could build up a nose or a chin out of clay, but not out of flesh and blood.

False teeth were known to the courtesans of ancient times, although they were of a primi-

tive sort. Very likely these were constructed of wax or some similar substance, and were intended for ornament, not for use. Various sorts of dentifrices were known to antiquity, chiefly being used to beautify the teeth of prostitutes.

Dyeing the hair, supplying false hair, removing hair from the body, all these were practiced by the old Greek courtesans. The cosmetics of the ancient world, so far as we can now tell, were in no way inferior to those of today. Then, as now, red and white were to be had for the purchasing.

The prostitutes and those who profited by their earnings learned early in antiquity what every modern woman knows, the seductive power of the *decolleté* and of half-concealment in general. The human imagination is powerful; that is why the nude is infinitely less "dangerous" than the partly draped. That is also the reason, by the way, why professional searchers for vice become angriest about works of art which they do not understand.

In general, then, the prostitute of ancient Greece was a great deal like her successors in Europe and America. Whatever differences are to be found are to be explained in terms of economic and possibly of philosophical changes. There is no need to enter here into the question of just how far philosophy depends on economic life. In any case, modern men do not look at the universe in exactly the same way as the ancients did.

We have no reason to believe that human nature or, to be specific, the sexual impulse, has

in any way changed in the last five thousand years or so. This in spite of the numerous revival meetings, revelations, prophecies, and judicial executions of this period.

More than that, the machinery and appointments of the brothel remain pretty much the same. The courtesan of today smokes a good many cigarettes and drinks as much whiskey as she can conveniently get. The prostitute of ancient Greece was also a drinker of alcoholic beverages. She had no tobacco, but she was addicted to various other drugs. The courtesan of India chews betel nuts and offers a supply to all callers.

Anatole France, in his novel "Thais", describes delightfully and with acute insight the life of a beautiful and very popular hetæra. His heroine lives not in classical Greece but in Egypt, when the great cities of that land are under a Hellenic civilization. There is a story here, a powerful story of how a certain devout monk exerts a remarkable influence over a courtesan and is himself influenced by her. The modern popularization of this theme is to be found in the drama "Rain", adapted from Maugham's "Miss Sadie Thompson."

I refer here to Anatole France's novel not for the stylistic beauty which it undoubtedly possesses, or even for its psychological profundity, but for the vivid picture it presents of the aristocratic prostitute of antiquity. The hetæra lives for us again in her splendid house, surrounded by rich furniture and draperies, waited on by many slaves, dining in magnificent luxury, looking calmly down upon the

world of fashionable and brilliant young men at her feet.

We see also the prostitute swayed by the superstitions of her time, converted to Christianity, at last acclaimed as a saint. There is no exaggeration in Anatole France's account. Such things as he describes did actually occur.

It is said—and of course there is a good deal of truth in this saying—that in our own days harlots have swayed kingdoms, caused the downfall of monarchies, occasioned and decided problems of state. Always blue blood has voluntarily turned red in response to the red blood of beauty. To be sure, it is nearly impossible coldly to analyze the sexual problems of today. At every instant we are treading on somebody's toes, offending against one propriety or another, violating some taboo. Especially in America, where prostitution, although common enough, is generally illicit, it is difficult for the scientific investigator to assemble and publish his data.

In classical days, a man might go out and boldly purchase a season-ticket to the brothel. Perhaps he did not assume the self-righteous air of a man who has just subscribed for a box at the opera. As I have already mentioned, there were sexual reformers among the Greeks and Romans. At all times the brothel had its vigorous opponents.

In actual practice, though, almost the whole nubile male population patronized the harlot's house. It was easily accessible, the fees were cheap, and attendance, according to the consensus of opinion, was not shameful. Compared

with the situation in classical times, attendance at the modern houses of prostitution in London or Paris or Amsterdam is quite light. There are a number of reasons why this is so. First, the cost has gone up to a considerable extent. There is also a new sense of shame or sexual modesty (prudery, in its extreme manifestations) which has to some extent curbed natural instincts. Most important of all, no doubt, is the fear of syphilis which has spread since Columbus discovered the Americas.

In Solon's time the equivalent of a few cents purchased the services of an ordinary prostitute. The courtesans who were much sought after set a high price on themselves. Occasionally there was haggling over a price.

Procurers or panders existed, of course. These intermediaries between the courtesan and her patrons might be state officers or owners of the prostituted slaves or agents of the free prostitutes. In some cases they were relatives. A mother might deliver over her daughter or a husband, his wife.

Most often in antiquity the prostitutes were handled by people who thought of them as goods which should bring a profit to the purchaser. They were sold with other slaves in the market-place. No consideration for their feelings was manifested in the transaction. Prospective customers examined them carefully. Speculators sometimes rented a woman to a pander or to one who desired a mistress.

The prostitute was supposed to satisfy all the demands of the libido. In ancient literature there are references to sadists and

masochists, and to the special arrangements made for them in brothels. Almost all the desires which now appear to us to be perversions or symptoms of sexual psychopathia were considered reasonable and natural by the ancients. So long as no excess was practiced, indulgence in almost any pleasure was considered proper. Homosexuality, notably, was open and important. It held such an important place in the life of the ancients that I am devoting a section at the end of this book to homosexual prostitution.

Many books which would now be considered dangerously pornographical circulated freely among the ancients. For instance, there were many treatises on the "figures of Venus", the various ways of carrying out coition. Our medical authorities on sex say that the proper exercise of the function is not instinctively acquired by men. (See, for instance, Malchow, "The Sexual Life", St. Louis, 1923. Page 126.) However, even in works intended for physicians, there is seldom any discussion of the right way or the right ways. The Greeks had many gods, but we worship one whom they did not know—Ignorance.

Scientifically, to be sure, they were inferior to us. However, if they knew something, they did not conceal it because it was supposedly offensive to religion. What good is it to the citizens of a free and democratic country to have scientific discoveries made, if they are carefully to be hidden from all students, on the ground that they contradict what is stated in certain holy books?

The most sacred of all our writings is the unpublished volume containing the sayings of that estimable lady, Mrs. Grundy. The strange thing is that the moralists, when they become too moral, help to destroy their own morality. Especially in the matter of sex, many ignorant preachers and lecturers have driven the more susceptible of their hearers to mental illness or to unhealthful excess. The Greeks, although they actually knew less than we, made better use of their knowledge.

It is sometimes surprising to find out the gaps in their science. Thus, it is pretty sure that both gonorrhea and chancroids were common diseases in ancient times. Yet the Greek and Roman physicians seem not in the least to have suspected that these diseases were transmitted in the act of coition. They knew that certain diseases were contagious. In fact, they cautioned men against having relations with women who were afflicted with eczema, leprosy, or certain other easily-recognized illnesses.

Among the Hebrews, the bath after coition was a religious requirement; originally, no doubt, hygienic considerations prompted the law. Among other antique races this practice was fairly general. As we have seen, the bath and the brothel were often adjoining places and occasionally the same place. The Greeks anointed themselves with oil before any physical exercise. This fact probably often prevented a venereal infection.

The ancients were, for their own sake, careful about the physical cleanliness of the prostitute. For her mental and moral cleanliness

they concerned themselves little. She was a useful object, a religious object, for at least this reason, that she insured the sanctity of the home. A splendid harlot might be given luxuries, but it would be as though a champion race-horse were given an expensive stall. Except in the case of the few hetæræ who aroused romantic love, the prostitutes were hardly considered to be persons.

The regulation of prostitution by the police as it prevails today in many European cities, according to Iwan Bloch, is a system of inscribing the courtesans on a slave list. In some cases the harlots have been exposed almost without restriction to the tyrannies of certain officials. There are pictured such conditions in Hugo's "Les Misérables".

In one form or another the slavery of prostitutes has existed uninterruptedly from ancient times to our own. We all know what "white slavery" means. The Italian padrones in New York formerly held young girls in subjection under conditions pretty much resembling those of antique slavery, except that the legal justification did not exist. I see no reason to agree with Dr. Bloch that modern "white slavery" is an outgrowth or result of ancient conditions. For one matter, the problem of recruiting the slaves has become an altogether different one.

So long as brothels exist, there will probably be some sort of slavery. There will be some sort of domination of the weak will by the strong will. Always the lone prostitute has had her bully or "protector", the man on whom she

has lavishly poured her affections and her booty.

In Greece the prostitute's bully was the state, which took her earnings or a share in them. There was a whole class of Collectors of the Prostitutes' Revenue. The courtesan who did not belong to the state paid a monthly tax which amounted to her usual fee for her favors.

If the sexual phenomena of today are somewhat different from those of yesterday and if the conditions of tomorrow appear likely to be different from those of today, this is due most of all to the gradual decline of the double standard of sexual morality. This dual set of rules of conduct, accepted without question by the Greeks and Romans of classical times, is coming more and more to be questioned. So long as women are climbing firmly to a position of equality with (possibly of superiority to) men, we can be sure that the old measuring rods will go.

In addition to the double standard just mentioned, classical prostitution rested on the distinction between those who needed to work and those who were too noble and too proud to do any manual or certain kinds of mental labor. Thus there was normally a deep gulf, a deeper gulf even than exists with us, between a man's wife and the harlots of whom he was fond. Yet men were known to marry prostitutes, even in Greece. More frequently they took them to themselves as concubines or mistresses.

Despite the shameful position of the prostitute, she played in ancient India, Greece, and

Rome a greater rôle than the legitimate wife. Whereas the wife had to stay at home and supervise the cooking and the care of the young children, the courtesan conversed freely with many men. If she was intelligent, she might have it in her power to sway the destinies of a state. At any rate, she was permitted a wide range of interests. If she had the desire and the ability to join in philosophical discussions, she was welcome to do so! She could be praised by all, toasted by all, greeted by all men with honors and with gifts. A good wife, by way of contrast, was one who herself remained silent and about whom nothing good and nothing bad was ever said.

Any reader of this booklet who is familiar with many comedies of the Elizabethan age will recall that the favorite setting is a brothel or a boisterous tavern. This setting was borrowed, along with a number of other things, from the Latin comedy; and this, in turn, from the Greek. The ancients were not shocked, as the New York authorities have been in the case of "The God of Vengeance," to see a brothel on the stage. The hetæra was the heroine of many a Greek comedy. The mimes have already been mentioned, in which the parts of harlots were taken, realistically enough, by the harlots themselves.

A great deal about the prostitutes of Greece in the time of the Roman empire is to be learned from the satirical dialogues of Lucian and the imaginary letters of his contemporary Alciphron. Both the great and the little writers of antiquity discussed sex freely, and many of the literary works were frankly intended

to be aphrodisiac. This purpose is referred to in ancient medical works.

The same thing was true in all the branches on ancient art. Phallic symbols exist today in great numbers, but only the initiated recognize them as such. In ancient times, when the symbols were still more numerous, everyone knew what they meant.

Many great artists worked at paintings and decorations intended for the walls of a brothel. Artistic representations of the nude, which were many, did not usually have any erotic significance.

It has happened since classical times that a painter or a sculptor has used as model for a sacred work of art a woman herself not saintly. A good many of the Greek statutes of Aphrodite were modelled after well-known courtesans. Since the goddess of love had no need to look ascetic, there was nothing strange about this. The gods and goddesses of Homer and the Greek dramatists were not aloof from humanity, and they were themselves quite susceptible to the normal passions of mankind.

PROSTITUTION IN ROME

The civilization of the Roman world was largely founded upon that of Greece. Most of the things said about prostitution in the Hellenic peninsula apply also to the Italian, as well as to the empire which spread out from Rome. The system of slavery continued, although the conditions became somewhat different. The dual standard of sexual morality

remained. However, it was upon a Roman world that the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth burst forth, although the first disciples were Hebrews to whom education meant largely the language and culture of the Greeks. The growth of Christianity meant a change in ethics, a vastly different way of looking at the universe. Moreover, the development of Christianity was contemporaneous with many economic and political changes. All these things together marked the end of the ancient and the beginning of the medieval world. For practical purposes, most historians say that the Middle Ages began with the fall of the western Roman Empire.

From primitive times the Romans inherited the worship of the phallus. From the Greeks and from the Orientals they learned to worship a goddess of love. The Roman Venus had in general the same characteristics as the Greek Aphrodite. It has been conjectured that the word Venus was derived from *Benot*, the Hebrew for "daughters" or "girls," and that in this etymology a connection is shown between the "maidens' huts" of the Orientals and religious prostitution. Many passages in the Bible show that the daughters of Israel, when they ran after strange gods, indulged in strange orgies also.

The brothel in Rome, as it had been in Greece, was open to all who possessed the necessary small fee. In the days of the Empire, almost every tavern was a house of prostitution.

When Horace upbraided his steward for despising a country life (see the fourteenth let-

ter in the first book of his Epistles) this is what he wrote:

"We two do not admire the same things. What you regard as desert and inhospitable wilds, I call delightful places, and I dislike what you consider pleasant. I see that the brothel and the greasy taverns raise your inclination for the city: and this because my little spot will sooner yield frankincense and pepper than grapes; nor is there a tavern here to supply you with wines, nor a minstrel harlot, to whose thrumming you may dance."

The Roman prostitutes were usually slaves taken in the wars, and the dancers and singers of Syria were well known by the banks of the Tiber. All nations were represented among the public woman, and they came from all classes of society and all degrees of cultural life.

Food and drink and music and perfumes aroused the sexual desires of men in the voluptuous cabarets of the time. There were two sanctuaries in Rome erected to Pudicitia, but this goddess of modesty was not so well worshipped as Venus. Upon the very altars of Pudicitia sexual orgies took place.

During the period of the empire, the bathing of men and women together was introduced into Rome. The public baths came to have the reputation of being brothels. The satirical poet Martial waxed indignant when the prostitutes were permitted to attend the baths. Special permission had to be given to them because they did not of course possess the ordinary rights of citizens.

The male attendants at the baths sometimes engaged in hetero-sexual prostitution. Homosexual acts also took place in the bagnios.

In Rome, as previously in Greece, the brothel was considered an aid to the purity of family life. Adultery was the greatest of sins: the cuckolded husband might put his guilty wife to death and take what revenge he pleased on the man he found with her. Under the later emperors, there was a death penalty inflicted by the state for adultery.

A great military victory would throw hundreds or thousands of young female slaves upon the market. However, the Roman armies provided a demand for prostitutes as well as a supply of them. The Roman soldier might be kept in a foreign garrison for many years. He was not permitted to marry; and in any case, no Roman citizen could legally marry a foreigner. Therefore the soldier turned for the satisfaction of his sexual desires either to a concubine or to prostitutes. The Dutch soldiers who today make up the garrisons of the Netherlands East Indies are similarly permitted to take dusky native girls to themselves as concubines.

In Rome the circus, the theatres, the religious assemblies and all public gatherings served prostitution. Everywhere the courtesans showed themselves freely.

Horace, comparing the attractions of married women with those of the prostitutes (in the Satires, Book I, No. 2) says, "A man can see nothing but the face of a matron. The other throws no obstacles in your way;

through the silken vest you can discern her almost as well as if she was naked; you can see her form, and observe that she has neither a bad leg nor disagreeable foot."

On any of the busy streets of Rome prostitutes might be found seeking patrons. The city numbered perhaps a million and a half inhabitants at the height of its ancient prosperity, or about its present population. It was busy, crowded with citizens, free foreigners, and slaves. There were certain sections where the courtesans were especially numerous, but nothing in the nature of a "red light" or segregated district. Harlots were as numerous in the neighborhood of the temples as anywhere. Many of the cheaper prostitutes, however, were to be found in certain outlying neighborhoods.

The brothels opened in the afternoon and they remained open all night. Prostitutes took part in the night life at the cabarets, as well as in banquets at private houses.

Voluptuous music played a greater part in antiquity than it does today. Men went to the music schools to pick out prostitutes. Wine, woman, and song: indeed it is a time-honored combination.

Imperial Rome was the seat of much luxury and of many excesses. Whether this fact contributed to the downfall of the empire, as Bossuet, Montesquieu, and many other historians have maintained, I will not venture to say. Probably there are sufficient other reasons to explain the fall of Rome.

"The plebeians of Rome," according to Montesquieu, "did not hate even the worst of the

emperors. As soon as they had lost the empire and had ceased to occupy themselves with war, the Romans had become the vilest of nations; they considered commerce and the arts as things suitable only for slaves; the free wheat which they received made them neglect agriculture; they had become accustomed to games and spectacles. Caligula, Nero, Commodus and Caracalla were mourned for their very madness, because they loved furiously what the citizens loved, and they contributed to their pleasures as much as was in their power, even with their own bodies; they poured out for them the riches of the empire; and though the rich families were ruined, the poor thoughtlessly enjoyed themselves, finding their safety in their low rank."

Perhaps there were times when a majority of the citizens of imperial Rome lived on the government doles, with little independent income and less inclination to do manual labor. Prostitutes, however, were cheap. In old Rome a great population was crowded together, for there were no means of rapid transit to draw the people into outlying sections. Poor but proud citizens wanted to live in the city, even though the less exciting life in the country was considerably cheaper. In Robert Browning's poem "Up at a Villa—Down in the City" we see how a modern Italian "person of quality" feels about living on a farm. Alas, prices are high in the city, and he must needs stay away from the fifing and drumming and gossiping. No processions pass his door, there are no quack doctors standing around the corner to give pills, draw blood, and extract teeth.

We must imagine the harlot of old Italy walking slowly down the crowded streets, rubbing elbows with beggars and peddlers and thieves and slaves and idle citizens. All was brilliantly colored, noisy. All was open and unashamed.

Sometimes the daughter of a respectable but impoverished citizen living in a provincial town, hearing the splendors of Rome or of some other city larger than her own, ran away from home and slowly drifted into a life of prostitution. Free harlots were more common in Rome than they had been in classical Greece.

The Roman prostitutes of the higher class were mostly freed slaves or the daughters of such. Many of the famous harlots were Asiatic women. Some of them had been enslaved, others came willingly to Rome and other cities of the empire to pursue their trade. As we have seen in the case of the hetæræ in Greece, a number of courtesans became historical figures. In Horace we find a large number of names. Cynara and Lalage, Lydia and Phyllis, they are all familiar to us.

However, we can not always pin these names down to definite persons. They were often what the French call *noms de guerre* or war-names, that is, pleasant-sounding pseudonyms adopted for professional purposes. As we call many dogs Rover or Prince, the ancients called many prostitutes Lalage, from the Greek word for prattling or talking baby-fashion.

It is to be noted that many courtesans were accomplished in more than baby talk. There

were splendid musicians among them, and even poets. To these women opportunities not dreamed of by honorable wives and maidens were extended. A woman of the prostitute class, moreover, was valued all the more by her lovers if she had a reputation as a wit or an artist.

We moderns have a prejudice against the bluestocking. We are especially inclined to think of her as being epicene. Here classical opinion offers a marked contrast with ours. Just those women given over to delight were the ones who developed their literary and artistic powers. There is no good reason why this should be otherwise, since the whole artistic impulse appears to have arisen out of the sexual libido.

Perhaps in a half-conscious striving for this spiritual freedom, many married women of Rome secretly gave themselves up to prostitution. The wives of emperors sold themselves to all comers in the brothel. The name of Messalina, wife of the emperor Claudius, is especially notorious in this connection. She was at last put to death, in the forty-eighth year of the Christian era, because she publicly married a handsome Roman youth while her husband was busy elsewhere.

Juvenal tells us of this empress that she had a cell or compartment reserved regularly for her in a house of prostitution. Each night she came, disguised in a blonde wig and taking the name of Lycisca. Messalina was pretty surely mentally ill, and close to the border line of insanity.

It is noteworthy that the Roman poets of the imperial period called the brothel a shameful and dirty place. This is a change from the attitude of Solon and the Greeks of his time.

The Roman brothels were usually divided into windowless cells leading off from a corridor. Male and female prostitutes were often found in the same lupanar. In the principal hall a number of prostitutes might be ranged, from among whom the visitor was permitted to take his choice. There might be young girls in the line as well as middle-aged women, long experienced in the ways of shame.

Of course the famous courtesans of antiquity needed neither to occupy brothel cells nor to go hunting in the streets. Appointments were made with a servant, and the fee was arranged in advance.

At the entrances to some lupanars signs were posted, giving a list of the inmates, with sometimes an account of the specialties of each and the fees charged. The lowest charge seems to have been the equivalent of only a few cents of our money. The highest charge was as much as some sex-intoxicated and wealthy patrician could afford to pay, or a little more.

Then, as is still the case, frequent visitors were accustomed to bring presents as well as the regular charge. The well-known courtesans received valuable jewelry and other costly articles. This custom (I speak by the authority of the Sunday magazines and the periodicals devoted to sophisticated but not vulgar fiction) still prevails.

In the Roman comedies we find many de-

tails as to the sale of prostituted slaves and as to their leasing for specified periods. The contracts between speculators and panders were often considered in the law-courts. As to the greater prevalence of sexual abnormalities in antiquity, we may attribute this in part to the fact that the mass of the prostitues were slaves, who had willy-nilly to do as they were bidden. Iwan Bloch says that the brothel is today the great teacher of perversities. However, the courtesan is now usually at least to a degree mistress of her own actions.

"And then he asked of her a monstrous thing.
The strumpet blanched and, rising from the couch,
Spat in His face."

Thus George Sylvester Viereck depicts a modern situation in "The Pilgrim" ("The Three Sphinxes and Other Poems," LITTLE BLUE BOOK number 579). Indeed the present-day harlot is likely enough to be something of a Puritan. A member of the sisterhood who wrote her confessions not very long ago, proudly stated that she had never committed the one unpardonable sin. She had never presumed to alter the face God had given her with rouge or powder.

As we have seen, the ancients did not frown upon perversions. The sadistic emperors of Rome did much to encourage the joy in cruelty among their subjects. Blood flowed freely from the wounds of gladiators, and gentle Roman ladies turned their thumbs down to sig-

nify that they desired death and not mercy. The lesser degrees of sadism and masochism were satisfied in the brothels. The great epidemic of masochism which took place in the Roman Empire is described in histories of the early Christian church. I refer, of course, to the martyrs.

In my edition for The Little Blue Books of "The Kama Sutra," a Hindu love manual, I have spoken of the importance which the Hindus attached to pain in their erotology. In this present booklet I have no room to discuss conditions outside Greece and Rome. Of course, prostitution was important in many other countries in ancient times.

The Greek tax on free courtesans has already been mentioned. Beginning in the reign of Alexander Severus, in the third Christian century, this tax was introduced into the Roman Empire. The proceeds were devoted to popular amusements, to the circus and to the theater. Thus the women of pleasure were taxed to provide more pleasure for the voluptuous populace.

The free prostitutes of antiquity stood under the control of certain magistrates, usually those who exercised the general supervision of morals. The Roman Ædiles, who made regulations for the courtesans, were also in charge of the sanitation of the city, the baths and the markets.

In Rome the prostitutes had to wear a distinctive costume. This was as rich and as brilliantly dyed as the harlot could afford. Respectable matrons more simple clothes, espe-

cially in the republican days. The dark toga was the special mark of the harlot.

A passage in Horace to which I have already referred speaks of the long flowing gown of the married woman, which did not permit her feet to be seen. The harlot wore comparatively little clothing. It would have been considered highly presumptuous for her to wear the palla or cloak of the matron. In the time of the empire, these differences in dress became obscured.

Prostitutes had to receive licenses from the Ædiles when they began to ply their trade, and their names were enrolled in a register. Police registration of courtesans is still required in many European cities.

We find several of the imperial laws directed against the prostitution of a wife by her husband. Other laws we find attempting to keep free Roman women, or at least those of noble descent, from prostitution. The Emperor Tacitus attempted to abolish all brothels in the city of Rome, but found the accomplishment impossible. This was in the third Christian century. Theodosius the Great and Valentinian I, in the next century, absolutely forbade prostitution within the limits of the Roman Empire.

Justinian, Roman Emperor of the East in the Sixth Century, famous for the legal compilations drawn up in his reign, continued the work of attempting to extirpate prostitution. For a reason which we shall see later, this fact is especially curious.

These legal attacks upon the courtesans all

took place in Christian times, after the downfall of the antique, pagan spirit. Yet the Middle Ages pretty generally accepted prostitution as a necessary evil.

Among the pagan Romans the feeling that prostitution was dirty and dishonorable had already penetrated. Even though a harlot was free, she had not the rights of a woman of the citizen class. Her word was not taken in a court of law. She could not sue for debts arising in the exercise of her trade.

In imperial Rome men came gradually over to the view that it wasn't entirely a matter-of-fact and honorable thing to enter a lupanar. Persons of good family and established position did not want to be recognized in the act of walking into a brothel. They covered their heads, and came in only after dark.

This was a change from the opinion of Greece and of Republican Rome that prostitution, because it protected the sacred institution of marriage from adultery, was therefore praiseworthy.

The praise had hardly been extended to include the prostitutes themselves. Under Augustus a law was enacted forbidding the marriage of citizens with prostitutes and former prostitutes. Men of senatorial rank were forbidden to marry even a maiden descended from a prostitute. However, a courtesan might be taken into a senator's house to live there as his concubine.

In a few cases there were marriages between prostitutes and persons of high rank. The marriage of Thais to Ptolemy of Egypt has

already been mentioned. The Emperor, Justinian married Theodora, who had been from childhood an actress in the mimes and a prostituted slave. We are told that she had been proficient in her work, and had taught the other girls in the brothel the tricks of the trade. Theodora worked with her husband in the attempt to abolish prostitution. Before Justinian married her, he had repealed Constantine's law which forbade a person of senatorial rank to marry an actress in the mimes. Theodora was made empress regnant, and she took an important part in the business of government. She seems to have made Justinian a good and respectable wife.

Many of the details of the sexual life of antiquity are preserved for us in Ovid's poem, "The Art of Love." When the poet was banished from Rome, the profligacy of his book was alleged as the reason. It has been supposed, however, that the real reason was his intrigue with Julia, the emperor's granddaughter.

Ovid's book deals only with sexual relations outside the tie of marriage. It is a manual of instructions for having pleasant dealings with courtesans, supplemented by hints to the prostitutes on how to make their profession profitable and agreeable to themselves.

Martial, Juvenal, Catullus, Tibullus and Petronius are some of the other Latin writers from whose works we may learn much about the sexual morals and practices of the Romans.

The theory has been advanced that in his

"Satyricon" Petronius meant to satirize the Emperor Nero. There is a passage in the book where two men invade a ceremony sacred to women. This was reminiscent of the act of Publius Clodius, a notorious enemy to Cicero, who profaned the mysteries of the Good Goddess. Because, it is said, he had fallen in love with Caesar's wife, he disguised himself in woman's attire and entered Caesar's house, where the ceremonies were being held. For this serious offense Clodius was put on trial, and he escaped only by bribing the jurors. How very modern some of these stories seem!

For such a mysterious orgy as this, see "The Bacchantes" of Euripides, in Gilbert Murray's translation or in the version by Alexander Harvey (Little Blue Book number 418). On page 10 of this edition, where the thyrsus is designated as "lively and vivacious," Mr. Harvey adds a note to the effect that "the thyrsus was called wanton or insolent because of the liberties the Bacchantes took with their wands." This does not quite hit the mark. The thyrsus, a staff entwined with ivy, was a phallic symbol. It betokened the male regenerative organ. Reason enough for it to be called "wanton," quite aside from its use in the mysteries.

Petronius says plainly that the women whom his two male characters happen to come upon are carrying phallic symbols. We are told that the ceremonies are carried on in the temple of Priapus, a sexual god.

The "Satyricon" is especially valuable for what it tells us of homosexuality. It is chiefly to this which Mr. J. M. Mitchell refers in the

introduction to his version of Petronius (one of the "Broadway Translations" published by Dutton).

"It is a great misfortune," he says, "that the Satyricon should contain so much that is alien to modern taste. One passage has been omitted altogether, and a number of other passages has, as in Mr. Heseltine's version in the Loeb Series, been left in the original Latin. In many other cases, where the sense allowed, the translation represents the original in a modified form. Such devices, unsatisfactory though they be, cannot reasonably be avoided, and it is hoped that the result will be excused on the score of public decency."

Public decency is the censor which restricts unexpurgated books to them that can afford limited editions and, in certain cases, to them who can read the books in the original language. Since the "Satyricon" is fragmentary as we have it, it is almost meaningless when it is cut up still more by the censors. Especially obnoxious is the use without warning of euphuisms which pervert the sense of the original.

In a poem, "The Civil War," which is recited in the well-known banquet scene of the "Satyricon," the Oriental practice of castrating slaves, which had been imported into Greece and Rome, is violently attacked. The Oriental eunuchs were used to guard the seraglio; the Papal choirs have employed eunuchs in order to secure mature male soprano voices. In the European ancient world, they were used in homosexual prostitution.

We have seen how in the later days of the Roman Empire abolitionists of the brothel arose. All sorts of opinions were expressed about the public utility of prostitution. It was sometimes a religious performance, sometimes a necessary evil, sometimes and unnecessary evil which ought promptly to be suppressed.

It is not the purpose of this little book to point morals. Almost any desired lesson could be tacked on to a statement of the facts of prostitution in the classical world. About the only thing it is safe to say is that no matter how much superstitions change, no matter how much the will to believe may fasten itself upon new objects, no matter how much economic and social conditions may vary, human nature remains pretty much the same.

This fact, which at first sight seems to contradict the evolutionary doctrines, appears upon further consideration to explain and strengthen them. No wonder, when changes are so gradual, that we fail to see the transformation of one species into another. Surely the sexual impulses of men have been pretty much the same for thousands of years. It is interesting to note how romantic love, which is largely a matter of convention, can be a very different thing to two races, each being mentally and physically very similar to the other.

Shelley considered himself the disciple of Plato. How very differently, though, the two men thought of love! This in spite of the fact that the English poet could use the Athenian philosopher's very phrases.

HOMOSEXUAL PROSTITUTION IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

My last topic in this little book is one on which antique public opinion and the modern view are far apart. Consequently the subject is a delicate one.

I will assume (what is not rare) total ignorance on this subject in the minds of my readers. There are persons who are attracted to individuals of the same sex in the manner in which ordinary normal people are drawn to those of the opposite sex. These homosexuals are sexually repulsed by individuals of the opposite gender, as heterosexuals are sexually repulsed by those of the same sex. The homosexual man is drawn to males, the homosexual woman is attracted by females. Homosexuality, so far as we can tell, has existed since the dawn of history.

Krafft-Ebing was at first of the opinion that homosexuals were to be considered degenerate products of civilization, but he later found reason to modify his view. The homosexuals form a bridge between the typically male and the typically female. It is to be understood, then, that they are not merely criminals drawn on by some inexplicable curiosity to explore strange fields of vice.

Iwan Bloch distinguishes between true homosexuality and what he calls pseudohomosexuality. The true homosexual, he says, may deviate from psychic normality only in this one respect. There is no doubt that many men of

genius have been born with homosexual tendencies. Among them are to be named Oscar Wilde, Walt Whitman, the Russian composer Tschaikowsky, and numerous others.

Whether homosexuality be a sign of mental illness or not there is no good reason why it should be punished by law. Probably the proportion of congenital homosexuals in the general population is about one in a hundred.

The homosexuals in classical Greece were much more numerous than this proportion would indicate. Furthermore, many of them were clearly bisexual, attracted in love by both their own and the opposite sex. This indicates pseudohomosexuality, a condition which is not innate but acquired.

The love of a man for a boy, or pederasty, came to Greece from the Orient. No doubt it was spread by natural homosexuals to heterosexual individuals. Especially because the psychic life of women was hardly recognized, romantic love came in Greece to be centered on the boy.

Homosexual prostitution has had religious importance. Among the Romans homosexuality between women (tribady) was considered a sacrifice to Pudicitia, goddess of modesty, and to the Bona Dea or Good Goddess, sister of Faunus the goat-footed. It was a homosexual orgy to which Publius Clodius was a witness in Caesar's house. Sappho, the Greek poetess, is the most famous of the women known to have practiced tribady.

Boy and men prostitutes used cosmetics and perfumes, sang and played erotic music, exe-

cuted erotic dances, much in the same fashion as the female prostitutes. So far as prostitution goes, homosexuality among the ancients meant relations between males. Female homosexuality was carried on either in the religious orgies or privately at home.

The greatest men of Greece practiced pederasty. How many of them were natural homosexuals, how many congenitally heterosexual, it is impossible to say, especially because there are all sorts of conditions in between the two poles, and no man is altogether free from bisexuality.

Plato's "Lysis" speaks plainly of the love of a man for a boy. This love, although it had its ideal side, was based on physical relations. Indeed the Romans omitted to sublimate pederasty, and to them only the sensual side mattered.

Just how important homosexual prostitution was in antiquity is a question that must be answered from an incomplete record. We have no contemporary account of prostitution that is complete and detailed. However, it is certain that at least in certain times and places the hiring out of men for the sexual satisfaction of other men was as important as the traffic in women.

The idea that homosexuality was honorable does not appear to have prevailed in Solon's time, although two centuries later Socrates found nothing ill in it. Only the prostitution of one's body did he condemn, and not relations between friends.

After Plato's time, homosexual prostitution

became general, and the idea that friendship and love should enter into the relationship was gradually abandoned. The male prostitutes, like the female, were generally slaves.

Several of the Roman emperors, among whom Heliogabalus is especially to be noted, were favorable to the homosexually prostituted youths. Great prices were paid for handsome young slaves.

The male prostitutes were recognizable on the street by the paint on their faces, by the garb they wore, and by special gestures the significance of which was generally understood. In general they imitated as closely as possible the women who followed the same trade.

In some cases a male companion was retained for a long period, and there might even be a "marriage" ceremony to signalize the beginning of a relationship. Nero and Heliogabalus both went through such ceremonies.

Some male prostitutes offered themselves both to men and to women, or to women exclusively. Many a Roman matron, in the luxurious imperial days, paid for the favors of a gladiator or an actor or some other handsome slave.

A good deal of antique art was devoted to homosexual love. There are very few indications that it was found disgusting or even shameful. In this one matter we have gone very far from the classical ideal.